

**RECENT TRENDS IN DEPARTMENT OF STATE
SUPPORT FOR CULTURAL DIPLOMACY:
1993-2002**

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In introducing the basic legislation in 1945 for the educational exchange program, it was my thought that if large numbers of people know and understand the people from nations other than their own, they might develop a capacity for empathy, a distaste for killing other men, and an inclination to peace. If the competitive urge of men could be diverted from military to cultural pursuits, the world could be a different and better place to live.¹

Introduction

Cultural diplomacy is back. In the aftermath of the attacks of September 11, 2001 a plethora of articles, reports, and op-ed pieces has appeared, urging greater attention to how the United States, its values, culture, and policies are perceived abroad and to how we can improve those perceptions. Among the recommendations are calls for increased efforts in the area of cultural diplomacy. Ironically, the renewed interest in cultural diplomacy comes at a time when the country's resources and infrastructure for it are at their lowest levels in recent years. Since 1993, budgets have fallen by nearly 30%, staff has been cut by about 30% overseas and 20% in the U.S., and dozens of cultural centers, libraries and branch posts have been closed.

Before looking at the current situation in detail, some definitions may be in order. One of the early practitioners of cultural diplomacy defined it this way: "A nation's culture is the sum total of its achievement, its own expression of its own personality; its way of thinking and acting. Its program of cultural relations abroad is its method of making these things known to foreigners."² Cultural diplomacy is related to public diplomacy, but whereas the latter addresses

¹ J. William Fulbright, "The Most Significant and Important Activity I Have Been Privileged to Engage in during My Years in the Senate," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 424 (March 1976), 2.

² Ruth Emily McMurry and Muna Lee, *The Cultural Approach: Another Way in International Relations* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947), 2-3.

both short-term policy needs and long-term interests, cultural diplomacy's emphasis is on long-term interchange among nations.³ In promoting mutual understanding, it seeks to provide a context within which our national interests and policies can be understood. By their nature cultural diplomacy activities involve long-term investments in our relations with people in other countries. The teenager living in a family abroad for a year may someday become a leading journalist, academic, government official, or businessman. The young parliamentarian who visits with counterparts and tours the United States may one day be prime minister. The artist who works in residency abroad may return to the United States with a new view of her own her country because of her contact with another culture. There is no way to know; a certain degree of faith is involved in cultural diplomacy. Former Secretary of State George Schultz has compared diplomacy to gardening, and his comments seem particularly applicable to cultural diplomacy. "You get the weeds out when they are small. You also build confidence and understanding. Then, when a crisis arises, you have a solid base from which to work."⁴

How has the United States been "making itself known"? Is the early definition still accurate, or does true cultural diplomacy involve two-way communication of culture and values? If it does, what are the implications for our program of cultural relations? Any discussion of the future will need to address some of the perennial questions, especially those dealing with the goals of cultural diplomacy. In the past there has been little consensus. Is the main objective to support our foreign policy goals? To improve our image? To promote mutual understanding? To improve the international competence of Americans? To balance the image presented abroad by the commercial culture? All of these have been invoked as goals at one time or another, with priorities shifting from administration to administration. What can cultural diplomacy reasonably hope to accomplish in this age of "interconnectedness" - in a world increasingly pervaded by American popular culture, a culture which is simultaneously embraced and

³ The term public diplomacy is attributed to Dean Edward Gullion of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy who described it as "the role of the press and other non-governmental interaction of private groups and interests in one country with those of another, and the impact of these transnational processes on the formulation of policy and the conduct of foreign affairs." *The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, 1975-76*, Medford, MA, 48. Cited in Hans Tuch, *Communicating with the World: U.S. Public Diplomacy Overseas* (Washington:Institute for the Study of Diplomacy; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990), 8. From this rather broad definition, public diplomacy came to refer to government activities involving both policy advocacy and longer-term cultural communication.

⁴ George P. Shultz, "Diplomacy in the Information Age" (Paper presented at the Conference on Virtual Diplomacy, U.S. Institute of Peace, Washington, D.C., 1 April 1997), 9.

excoriated abroad? A look at both past and present day cultural diplomacy may help provide some basis for discussion of the future.

What trends are discernable in the American approach to cultural diplomacy over the years? Is our present investment in cultural relations sufficient? This paper reviews some of the basic elements in the Department of State's cultural diplomacy program, particularly those related to the arts, looks at budget and staffing trends, and notes some new directions and opportunities, in an effort to provide a framework for further discussion and recommendations.

Background

The fact that our cultural diplomacy apparatus was cut back sharply after the Cold War should not come as a surprise. A look at history shows that the United States moved slowly into the waters of cultural diplomacy during World Wars I and II and beat a hasty retreat once the conflicts were over. Why? A number of factors were at work including: an underlying ambivalence about involvement in foreign affairs, our historic mistrust of central government, especially its involvement in education and the arts, as well as a preference to leave such matters to the private sector and the marketplace. Even so, the United States did develop a framework for cultural relations in the 1930s, though there had been exchange activity earlier, mostly carried out by private sector organizations and foundations. The immediate precursor of today's cultural programs was the Division of Cultural Relations in the Department of State which was established in 1938. Its creation is worth examining more closely as the story contains a number of the threads which have been woven into the fabric of our cultural relations over the years. The creation of the Division was a direct response to a perceived foreign policy need, growing out of the Good Neighbor Policy, President Franklin Roosevelt's commitment to cooperation rather than intervention in Latin America. The cultural exchange component was designed to counter the perceived threat of fascist inroads in Latin America, and budget appeals to Congress featured this justification prominently. Under the Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations signed at Buenos Aires in 1936, the U.S. Government agreed to support exchange programs for students and for artists. The private sector organizations involved in exchanges urged the State Department to convene a meeting of interested parties and to begin to coordinate these overseas efforts. Ben Cherrington, the head of the new Division,

made clear that he saw the government's role as secondary to that of the private sector organizations which had been involved in exchanges for many years.⁵ Though the government role grew over the years, the emphasis on working closely with the private sector continued. This is seen throughout the web of grant arrangements made over the years with non-profit organizations, which were charged with administering aspects of various exchange programs. They included, for example, the Institute of International Education (IIE) for scholarly exchanges, and later the American National Theater and Academy (ANTA) which administered the performing arts exchanges. Performing and visual arts got additional infusions of money from the Office for Coordination of Commercial and Cultural Relations between the American Republics headed by Nelson Rockefeller.

With the end of World War II, the United States again reduced its overseas cultural and information programs. Several offices were merged within the Department of State, and the competition for funds between cultural and information activities, which traditionally has characterized these programs, began in earnest. One exception to the contraction of overseas programs was Western Europe, where extensive efforts were made in Germany and Austria as part of the economic recovery and democratization programs. In these countries, American Houses (libraries/cultural centers) were established and speakers, performing arts groups, and fine arts exhibitions were programmed extensively. On a smaller scale, similar activities were carried out in Japan.

The present day exchange programs owe their existence to a piece of creative programming and budgeting. Senator J. William Fulbright's 1946 amendment to the Surplus Property Act of 1944 provided financing for the academic exchange program which bears his name. The Fulbright-Hays Act, which followed in 1961, remains the legislative authority for the program. The Fulbright program was designed to be binational, with support from foreign governments as well as the U.S, and to provide for reciprocal exchanges, two important principles which continue to characterize the exchange programs. In 1948 the Smith-Mundt Act set out the legislative authority for the country's cultural and educational exchange program enshrining the concept of mutual understanding as a goal of cultural diplomacy, along with improving the international competence of Americans, the so-called "second mandate." Smith-

⁵ Frank Ninkovich, *The Diplomacy of Ideas: U.S. Foreign Policy and Cultural Relations, 1938-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 32-33.

Mundt also institutionalized the role of the private sector by providing for Advisory Commissions of private citizens for both the cultural and information programs.

With the developing Cold War came increased attention for the cultural programs. There was a concerted effort (both overt and covert) to present American arts and culture overseas as part of the “war of ideas” with the Soviet Union. Additional budget and staff resources were provided. In addition to State Department and, later, U.S. Information Agency (USIA) programs, the Central Intelligence Agency was much involved, working through the Congress for Cultural Freedom and supporting publications such as *Encounter* magazine. President Dwight D. Eisenhower introduced legislation in 1953 which led to the creation of the USIA; he also issued an Executive Order in 1954 which established the cultural presentations program in the Department of State. With the creation of USIA, the Department of State divested itself of the information and broadcasting functions it had administered in World War II. USIA was given responsibility for libraries and information centers abroad, for English language teaching, and for the large scale “political presence” exhibitions prepared for trade fairs and international expositions. The Agency’s employees abroad administered these programs, as well as the cultural exchange programs, control of which remained at the State Department at Senator Fulbright’s insistence, as he believed they would be less subject to political interference there than at USIA. This divided responsibility continued until 1978 when, under President Jimmy Carter, the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs and the USIA were combined to form a new agency called the U.S. International Communication Agency. In the Reagan administration it was re-named USIA. With the end of the Cold War and a renewed emphasis on reducing the size of government, USIA program and staff resources were cut. The special needs in Eastern Europe and the Newly Independent States, formerly the U.S.S.R., were met by taking resources from other geographic regions, especially Western Europe. Congress appropriated additional funds to USIA for a large- scale youth exchange program in the Newly Independent States and expanded professional exchanges in Eastern Europe as part of a free market and democracy building initiative. By the end of the 1990s, however, USIA’s budget had been cut by 33% and its staff by 29%, and in 1999 the USIA was abolished. Its operations were split in two with nearly half (Voice of America and the Television service) moving to the Broadcasting Board of Governors and the rest into the Department of State.

The organizational seesaw can be seen as a further indication of American uncertainty

about the cultural programs, where they belong, and what they should do. Along the way Congress has been much involved, setting boundaries for the programs, questioning grants, earmarking funds for educational exchanges to prevent re-programming by political appointees, writing in protections for the academic integrity of the programs, and mandating and funding new exchange programs in response to world events. With the war on terrorism has come renewed interest on Capitol Hill. Last autumn the House International Relations Committee held hearings on public diplomacy and pushed forward the Freedom Promotion Act of 2002 providing for, among other things, a major exchange initiative for the Middle East. Senators Edward Kennedy and Richard Lugar introduced the Cultural Bridges Act, calling for new links and youth exchanges between Americans and the citizens of Islamic nations. Neither bill was acted upon in the last Congress, and it is not clear whether they will be reintroduced in this session. Congress has also approved the creation of an Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy, chaired by the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy, with members to be appointed from the private sector. To date, this committee has not yet been formed.

Cultural Programs Today

As defined in the introduction to this essay, cultural diplomacy covers a broad range of U.S. Government activities, most of which are administered by the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (ECA) at the Department of State.⁶ If one takes a broad definition of culture, just about everything that the Bureau does is part of cultural diplomacy. Its programs include a wide range of academic exchanges, the best known of which is the Fulbright Program, professional exchanges such as the International Visitor Program, and several youth exchange programs. Activities also cover support for English language teaching, for American Studies at universities overseas, educational advisory services, and for university linkages. And there are programs administered in the Bureau of International Information Programs which have a cultural component, such as the Information Resource Offices (formerly libraries) and the

⁶. The Inter-Agency Working Group on Government-sponsored International Exchanges and Training (IAWG) noted in its 2002 Annual Report that in the preceding year there were 52 agencies and departments with programs involving over 400,000 participants and funding of \$1.2 billion. The same report noted that while almost all of these exchanges involve culture in some way, only about 1% deal specifically with the arts and cultural preservation. *IAWG Annual Report FY 2002*, 16 & 42. Downloaded March 12, 2003 from www.iawg.gov/info/reports.

speakers program.

Programs devoted exclusively to arts exchanges are few in number. But there are grants within other ECA program areas, including the Fulbright and International Visitor programs which are arts-related. Programs such as youth exchanges, support for overseas study centers, and other professional exchanges are broadly cultural in their purposes and often include some arts components. Other State Department offices dealing with cultural matters include the Art-in-Embassies Program which provides loan exhibits of American art work for U.S. Embassy residences abroad and the work of the Cultural Property Advisory Committee and staff who administer the Convention on Cultural Property Implementation Act.

Additionally, funds to support cultural programs abroad are sometimes provided from the budgets of the geographic bureaus and from the embassies' local budgets overseas. They, too, have suffered severe cuts since the mid-1990s. In Germany, for example, staff and resources were cut by 48% between 1994 and 1998.

Another aspect of funding for educational and cultural exchange is foreign government and private sector support (both financial and in-kind), especially for the Fulbright Program. In Fiscal Year 2001, for example, foreign governments provided about \$27.9 million in direct financial support for academic exchanges, through the many Binational Fulbright Commissions overseas. The private sector abroad provided about \$18.4 million in-kind support and donations to support the program. On the U.S. side the Fulbright program depends heavily on the contributions of American universities who provide tuition waivers, stipends, and, sometimes, housing for visiting scholars. In FY 2001 these in-kind contributions were estimated at about \$46.4 million.⁷ In the past, foreign governments and cultural organizations have provided considerable in-kind support for performing arts and exhibitions in the form of facilities, transportation, lodging, and advertising.

In the United States, the International Visitor Program relies on an extensive network of volunteers in 44 states through community organizations affiliated with the National Council for International Visitors. They provide contacts, program arrangements, home hospitality, and local tours. In addition, during their stay, each grantee meets with dozens of Americans in the communities they visit.

⁷ Department of State, *Fulbright Annual Report 2001*, by Alan Schechter, J. William Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board, (Washington, DC 2002) 66.

Staffing

Administration of the educational and cultural exchange programs abroad is the responsibility of Foreign Service Officers (FSOs) and Foreign Service National Employees (FSNs), the latter hired in the host country. Here, too, there have been substantial cuts; an estimated 32% for FSNs and 30% for FSOs. In the period 1993 to 1999 the number of FSO positions in USIA fell from 867 to 652.⁸ There are now 614 public diplomacy FSO positions with the Department of State. It should be noted, however, that the cuts in Foreign Service positions represent a continuation of a downward trend which began much earlier. During the 1960's there were about 1,200 Foreign Service Officers in USIA; when there were about half as many overseas posts as there are today.

An exact figure on overseas staff involved in cultural diplomacy today is difficult to provide. In addition to the estimated 112 Cultural Affairs Officer and Assistant Cultural Affairs Officer positions, other public diplomacy officers also spend time on cultural and educational exchange matters, especially at one or two officer posts (now about 50% of overseas posts) where there is no cultural affairs officer position.

The decline in overseas personnel is of concern not only as it affects administration of exchange and arts programs, but for the impact it has on a broad range of activities which can be characterized as the non-programmatic responsibilities of cultural officers abroad. These include presence and participation in key host country cultural events, bringing visiting American artists and academics together with host country counterparts, providing contacts and access for them and doing the same for host country nationals going to the United States, encouraging jointly-sponsored projects between American and host country institutions, in short, networking with a view to cultivating long-term relationships among individuals and institutions. These activities have been adversely affected as well by the cuts in the number of skilled professionals who work for American Embassies abroad as Foreign Service National Employees and who play a vital role in furthering the cross cultural communication fundamental to the success of diplomacy.

⁸ U.S. Information Agency, *Program and Budget in Brief, Fiscal Year 1999* (Washington, 1998), 33.

Funding Trends 1993-2002

What follows is a brief analysis of trends in selected cultural diplomacy programs, with an emphasis on those with some connection to the arts. The amounts cited refer to appropriated and allocated funds and do not include salaries and expenses (S & E) unless otherwise noted. Nor do they include regional bureau or embassy operating budgets which in many countries have contained funds for locally sponsored cultural programs. Trend lines are difficult to establish in some cases as programs were moved from one office to another as a result of internal reorganization and /or the integration of USIA into the Department of State. Data for the following charts comes from a review of Fiscal Years 1993 to 2002 Congressional Presentation Documents.

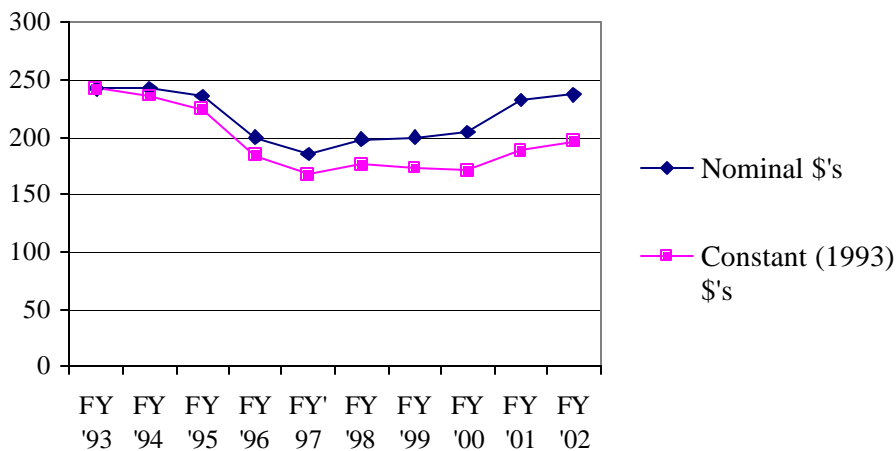
Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (ECA) - All Programs

The chart below makes clear that, despite recent increases, the ECA has yet to recover from the serious cuts imposed on it in 1997. Its funds were reduced by more than 30%, and the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy notes that between 1995 and 2001 the number of exchange participants in ECA programs fell from about 45,000 to 29,000.⁹

⁹ U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, *Building America's public diplomacy through a reformed structure and additional resources*, (Washington, 2002), 10.

U.S. Department of State
Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs
Educational and Cultural Exchange Programs (ECE)
ECE Account History
(In millions of dollars)

Fiscal Year	Nominal \$'s	Constant (1993) \$'s	Real Change (Annual %)	Real Change from 1993
1993	242	242	-	-
1994	242	236	-2%	-2%
1995	236	224	-5%	-7%
1996	200	184	-18%	-24%
1997	185	167	-9%	-31%
1998	198	176	5%	-27%
1999	200	173	-2%	-29%
2000	204	171	-1%	-29%
2001	232	188	10%	-22%
2002	237	196	4%	-19%



Source: Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs

Educational Exchange and Cultural Programs with Arts-related Components

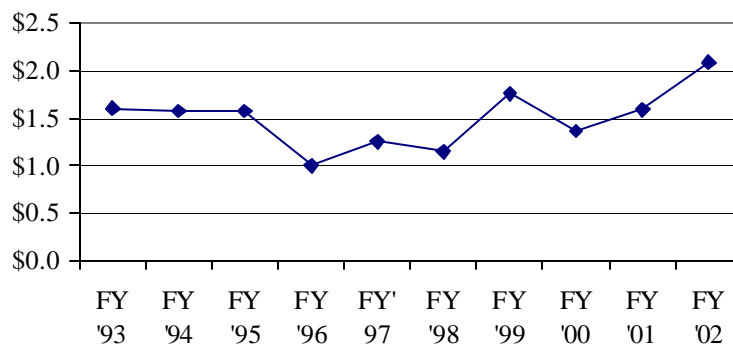
1. Office of Citizen Exchanges/Cultural Programs (Arts America)

The office known as Arts America administered the cultural presentations program from 1978 until it was abolished in 1997. Its program included a limited performing arts touring program, tours of fine arts exhibitions, speakers on the arts and literature, and cultural specialists. In 1993 it had a staff of 30 and a program budget of \$1.6 million, plus \$3.2 million in salaries

and operating costs. In 1997 the staff was reduced to three, and they and \$1.2 million in program funds were moved into the Office of Citizen Exchanges within the Department of State. The cultural specialists program, which recruits artists and educators at the request of foreign cultural institutions to work overseas in residencies of up to six weeks, continued, along with a modest exhibition program.

The Cultural Programs Division administers the Department's part of the Fund for U.S. Artists at International Festivals and Exhibitions, a public-private partnership involving the National Endowment for the Arts, The Pew Charitable Trusts, and the Rockefeller Foundation, which provides funding for U.S. artists to represent the nation at major international arts events. With the Kennedy Center, the Division has sponsored tours of young jazz musicians for workshops and performances abroad, especially to areas underserved by the private sector. The trend is toward grant-making to American cultural and educational institutions rather than direct support of performances overseas. With the limited funds available, the development of these partnerships seems likely to continue. Concurrently, the broader definition of culture is employed in support of projects involving cultural preservation, intellectual property rights, literature, and the role of the arts in promoting greater awareness of social issues

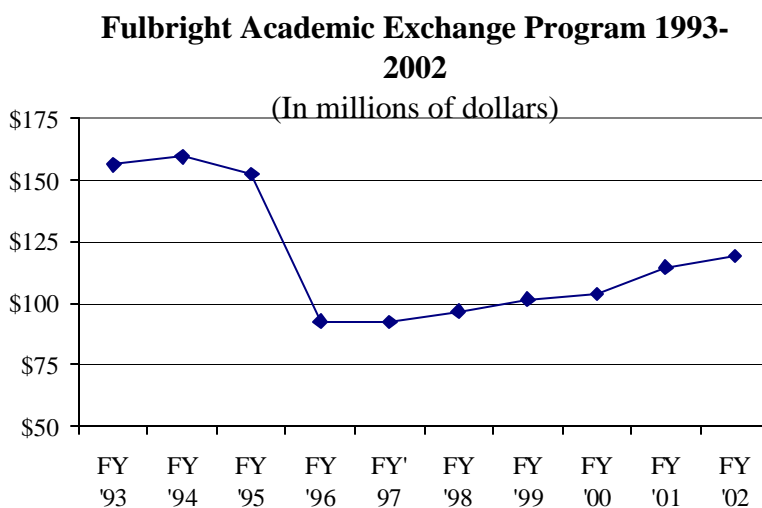
Arts America/Cultural Programs 1993-2002
(Office of Citizen Exchanges)
(In millions of dollars)



Source: Congressional Presentation Documents FY '93-'02

2. Fulbright Academic Exchange Program

The best known of the exchange programs involves grants for American and foreign graduate students, scholars, professionals, teachers and administrators. The program is administered overseas by Binational Fulbright Commissions in 51 countries and by the Cultural Affairs Officer or Public Affairs Officer at the American Embassy in countries without binational Fulbright agreements. Clearly, the entire Fulbright Program is considered part of our cultural diplomacy effort and its budget as shown below includes grants in all fields. An approximate percentage of those in arts related fields is listed next to the total number of grants. But regardless of their academic fields, almost all grantees will have some exposure to the arts and culture of the country in which they are living.



Fiscal Year	Number of Grantees	% Arts-related ¹⁰
1993	6,518	8.4%
1994	6,457	8.0%
1995	4,112	11.3%
1996	4,199	11.3%
1997	4,436	9.3%
1998	4,451	10.1%
1999	4,644	9.9%
2000	4,648	10.2%
2001	6,300	7.5%
2002	5,099	9.3%

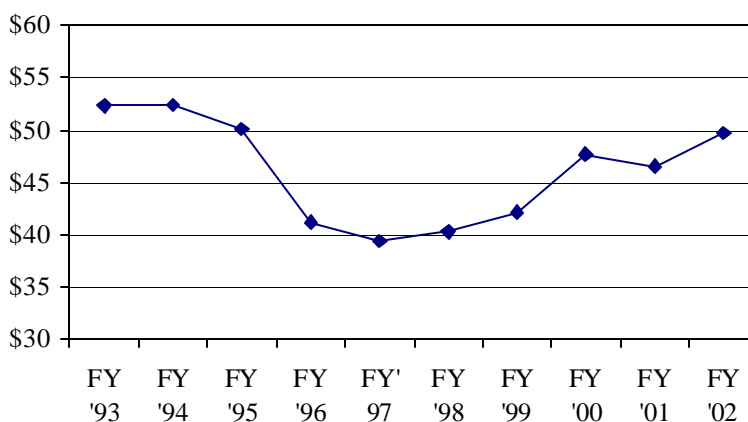
Source: Congressional Presentation Documents FY '93-'02

¹⁰. Data provided by the Fulbright program agencies and the Office of Academic Programs, March 2003.

3. International Visitor Program

The IV Program is an invitational travel program for foreign professionals, nominated by U.S. Embassies abroad, to meet with their professional counterparts during short-term stays of up to 30 days. Private sector organizations and volunteers throughout the United States arrange programs for the visitors so that, in addition to their professional interests, they can explore various aspects of American life and culture during their stays. Shown in the following table is the budget for the entire program. Next to the total number of participants is a percentage of those whose programs concentrated on the arts and humanities. Despite the decline in funds, the number of grantees has remained fairly steady, due to increased use of group programs and shorter stays by some grantees.

International Visitor Program 1993-2002
(In millions of dollars)



Fiscal Year	Grantees	% Arts and Humanities ¹¹
1996	4,237	2.7%
1997	4,601	5.7%
1998	4,580	4.2%
1999	4,507	4.1%
2000	4,439	7.2%
2001	4,607	9.1%
2002	4,874	5.8%

Source: Congressional Presentation Documents FY '93-'02

¹¹. Data provided by the Office of International Visitor Programs, March 2003.

4. Libraries/Information Resource Centers

There are currently 170 Information Resource Centers overseas at American Embassies. They have extensive on-line resources, links to major databases in U.S. libraries and research centers, as well as to the home office in Washington. They provide a broad range of information about the United States, its government, policies, history, arts, and culture. These offices, staffed for the most part by Foreign Service National Employees, are under the supervision of the Embassies' Public Affairs or Cultural Affairs Officers and the 28 Regional Information Resource Officers (librarians) who visit each Center regularly to help with collection development, staff training, and technology up-dates.

Before 1994 there were about 150 USIS (as USIA was known abroad) libraries overseas which were organized and operated much like a traditional American public library. Their collections were focused on American culture, history, government, economics, literature and society, as well as foreign policy. Extensive cut-backs in FY 94 led to the closing of most of the libraries with circulating collections. Their books were given to local universities and libraries. Continuing a trend begun earlier in Western Europe, where circulating libraries gave way to reference services only, the new IRCs were designed and equipped with the latest information retrieval and documentation resources. While the Centers lost their books, journals, and magazines, they were able to offer access to a broad range of sources via the databases and the Internet. Staffs were sharply reduced in number and many Centers were moved into Embassy office space. Public access to the IRCs varies from region to region. In some cases visits are possible only by appointment and are limited to students, academics, journalists, and host country officials and staff. Open access libraries are still found in a few African posts and in India and Mexico.

In Russia the embassy has developed an innovative approach to outreach and documentation about the United States by collaborating with host country libraries in creation of "American corners" in local libraries. Each has a computer link to key databases and a collection of basic reference works on the United States, provided by the embassy. This new technique may be applicable elsewhere, though it does require the availability of host country libraries and trained librarians.

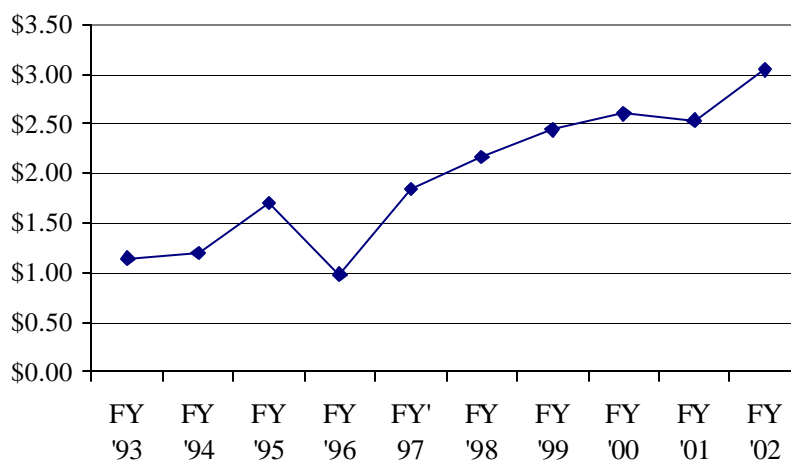
FY 2002 Budget for IRCs: \$2,071,000. This figure includes program funds only; salaries and expenses for the overseas libraries are not included. S&E funds represented the bulk

of the budgets for libraries prior to the cutbacks in 1995. They were provided from post and area office budgets, as well as centrally from the library office in Washington, DC. This complex pattern of funding the libraries precludes making an accurate trend line for their budgets.

5. English Language Teaching Programs

This office provides support for English language teaching abroad through the development and provision of materials including the magazine *English Teaching Forum*. Through the work of 15 Regional ELT Officers, the office assists host country teachers and institutions, at their request, with teacher training, curriculum development and materials. Direct teaching of English continues only in Africa and the Middle East. One of the provisions in the pending House legislation on support for public diplomacy envisions additional funds for ELT in the Middle East.

English Teaching Programs 1993-2002
(including staff costs)
(In millions of dollars)



Source: Congressional Presentation Documents FY '93-'02

6. Other Speakers Program

Each year several hundred Americans travel abroad to speak under Embassy auspices about a wide variety of subjects dealing with the United States. Foreign policy, economics, politics, law, arts, and humanities are among the topics covered. Many fulfill specific requests

from host country institutions and establish ongoing contacts with their professional counterparts. Speakers are recruited for their expertise in issue areas which the Department and the Embassy believe are important to address. Programs are arranged with host country sponsors which include universities, think tanks, NGO's, government offices, and professional organizations. **FY 2002 Budget: \$4,288,000**

Speakers Program 1998-2001

Fiscal Year	Number of speakers	Arts/humanities topics¹²
1998	1, 073	5.5%
1999	816	9.8%
2000	845	2.8%
2001	1,004	9.4%

Art in Embassies Program

This program, which is part of the Bureau of Overseas Building Operations, provides exhibits of original works of art to be hung in the public rooms of Ambassadors' residences overseas. The works are on loan from American institutions and private collectors. An added dimension to the program in recent years is the American Artists Abroad initiative which arranges for artists (who in many cases are lenders as well), to visit the countries where their work is exhibited and to participate in workshops and meetings with host country artists. Some 3,500 works are on display in about 180 embassy residences abroad.¹³

International Cultural Property Office

This office administers the Convention on Cultural Property Implementation Act of 1983 and provides support for the Cultural Property Advisory Committee. The Committee is charged with reviewing requests from foreign countries for import restrictions on archaeological or ethnological artifacts considered part of their cultural patrimony, and advising the Department about the appropriate action to be taken. These responsibilities arise from the United States'

¹². Data provided by the IAWG from its annual surveys, March 25, 2003.

¹³. Ash, Elizabeth, "The Art of Visual Diplomacy," *State Magazine* (January 2003), 11-14.

adherence to the 1970 UNESCO convention on cultural property. The Office monitors actions taken pursuant to bilateral agreements with other countries designed to reduce the pillage of their cultural heritage.

This office also administers a small and relatively new program, the Ambassadors Fund for Cultural Preservation, at \$1 million for FY 2002, under which Chiefs of Mission in less-developed countries can recommend support for host country projects designed to protect their cultural patrimony.¹⁴

¹⁴. For more on this, see <http://exchanges.state.gov/culprop>.

Conclusions

American cultural diplomacy has shrunk dramatically since the end of the Cold War. Even the success of programs such as the Fulbright Academic Exchanges and the International Visitor Program, developed on the basis of binational needs and interests, has been constrained by limitations of staff and funding. Always small in comparison with other government programs, what is now the State Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, can scarcely be expected to respond adequately to present needs and interests in many parts of the world.

The lack of a clearly articulated rationale has hindered the development of a cultural diplomacy effort commensurate with the United States' position in the world. From the beginning, the U.S. approach to such programs has been characterized by public ambivalence and the uncertain commitment of the political leadership. "The missing ingredient in American public diplomacy between the fall of the Berlin Wall and the September 11 attacks," Sen. Richard Lugar (R-Ind.) said recently, "was not advertising cleverness. It was a firm commitment by the American people and the American leadership to all the painstaking work required to build lasting relationships overseas and advance our vision of fairness and opportunity."¹⁵

Representing American arts and culture abroad - the cultural component of public diplomacy - does require "painstaking work" and sustained effort. Present events have raised the visibility of cultural diplomacy and its potential for affecting our relations with allies and adversaries alike. Whether or not that potential can be realized remains to be seen.

¹⁵ Richard Lugar, "Opening Statement on Public Diplomacy and Islam," Senate Foreign Relations Committee Press Release, 27 February 2003, 2.

Questions for Discussion

If we can find consensus on goals and a commitment for cultural diplomacy, how might we achieve those goals? How can we assure that the best of our culture is seen abroad and also encourage reciprocity, making other cultures more accessible to Americans? Is there potential for increased involvement by NGOs and foundations? By state and local arts organizations? What is the role of the commercial cultural sector? How do the various pieces in international cultural relations fit together?

Modern technology was employed to “re-invent” libraries as Information Resource Centers; it has been used in speaker and seminar programs electronically linking policymakers, academics, and journalists here and abroad; and it is helping to link Fulbright alumni around the world. Are there other applications for today’s cultural diplomacy?

But even with technology there remains the question of our diminished presence abroad in terms of people and programs. Can we find ways to create and sustain a basic infrastructure for our presence which provides for a long-term engagement with the world? These are complex questions, some of which may be unanswerable, especially in wartime, but we cannot afford to postpone the discussion.